*601 in the iyegedu ("grandson") category: son's wife and a woman's younger sister's husband: (sW, ♀S⁻H)

in the irago ("granddaughter") category: daughter's husband and a man's brother's wife. (dH, ♂BW)

(It should be noted that some of these kin types represent not only these kin types themselves, but also others which are equivalent to them as a result of previous reductions. For example: husband's father's brother has been reduced to husband's father by the application of the rule stating the equivalence of brothers; husband's mother's brother has been reduced to husband's brother by the Crow skewing rule, etc.)

*601 583 While the terminology for affinal relatives suggests the necessity of a marriage prescription, in itself it does not lead to a unique specification, in genealogical terms, for such a prescription (although it may be noted that some, but not all, of the data would be consistent with a rule of bilateral (symmetrical) cross-cousin marriage).

*601 603 606 If, for the time being, we postpone consideration of parallel siblings' spouses and spouses' parallel siblings, we see that in the kin types wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, and husband's mother, one's spouse's parents are terminologically equivalent to "grandparents," and also that in the kin types son's wife and daughter's husband, the spouses of one's children are terminologically equivalent to "grandchildren." Again, as it was the case in the discussion of naming, Ego's mother's brother whose

daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically, his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older brother") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose daughter they marry.

The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to in-laws from different generations and taking into account the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

$$(SpF| \rightarrow MB| \rightarrow FFSs|) \equiv (|dcSp \rightarrow |\sigma^{\circ} Sc \rightarrow |\sigma MBsc)$$

$$(SpM| \rightarrow FS|) \equiv (|\varsigma cSp \rightarrow |\varsigma Bc)$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no following linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo. In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.) or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (parago--1st person plural inclusive.)

This rule though strange, is yet another variant of general equivalence of a mother and her child which was expressed in different ways in the Crow rule (which equated mother's brother with brother), in female parallel collateral skewing rule (which equated mother's sister with sister), and it will be apparent again in the vocative system (where one's mother's parents are equated with one's own parents).

Here also I would like to make an exception and anticipage the social meaning of the present equivalence rule. By placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo removed her from the category of sexual partners to which she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so through the terminology, they express the ideal and the necessity of solidarity among brothers.

With this, the analysis of the Bororo referential system is concluded. All the kin types have been accounted for and reduced to their focal kin types. The boundaries of the system coincide closely with the list on pages 11-18. Occasionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives pega and rogu and their compound pega-rogu added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language pega means "bad" or "old," and rogu means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the [593] desired feelings. For example, iyogwa without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while iyogwa pega is the obligatory vocative term for one's mother's father. However, women may address their mother's father, if he is very, very old, as iyogwa pega-rogu. The use of adjectives with the term imarugo follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her imarugo pega or imarugo pega-rogu if she is still a child. A man will always address his wife's mother formally, i.e., imarugo, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately imarugo pega. An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters

[603] [605] *601 ● 606

*601 with whom one may flirt, will be jokingly referred to as
606 pajarugo pega-rogu, meaning in this case "our poor little mother-in-law." Also the father of the girls will be called payedaga pega-rogu "our poor little father-in-law," while the women will use this same expression only for a very old man close to death. The term for the wife's true father, and for one's namegiver who is not very old, will remain iyedaga without an adjective.

Another good example of manipulation of the available contrastive set can be seen in the relation between a woman and her daughter-in-law. If a child marriage was contracted, the woman will call her small daughter-in-law irago rogu. When the girl grows up and gradually takes over her responsibilities toward her husband and his mother, she will call her daughter-in-law irago pega if the two women are on good terms and the mother-in-law is satisfied by the attentions paid to her. If, on the other hand, their relations are not so good, she may show her dissatisfaction by calling her only irago. Finally when the mother-in-law is called to assist a daughter-in-law in labor, she will express her affection and concern for the girl by calling her irago pega-rogu.

*601 Another final distinction expressed through the use of
593 adjectives is that made between true siblings and "siblings" arrived at by extragenealogical, social extensions. In the first case rogu will be added to the respective term, but will be omitted in the second instance. The following di-

The following diagram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the adjectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
∅	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illustrated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be always addressed formally, as will the class of inodowu ("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that are normally used. The diagram does not include some special cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection with death. For example, if the living representative of one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as itonaregedu pega. An ironic use of imuga rogu and imarugo pega-rogu will be taken up later in discussing kinship terminology used for joking.

593
837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
835
602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

587 There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though
606 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him [585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but [43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

582 As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage,
593 there are few things that I would like to point out. The formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

Bororo SP

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manundé*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. After marriage a young man lives
591 with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys
● [606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were
[627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabála* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabála* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*uwasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[P. 108 (1)]

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. ● [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*pápurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured